

## WASHINGTON CITY.

THURSDAY MORNING, JUNE 11, 1857.

Mr. Henry M. Lewis, Montgomery, Alabama, is our general traveling agent for the States of Alabama and Tennessee, assisted by C. F. Lewis, James O. Lewis, and James D. Lewis.

Mr. Isaac E. Jones, No. 182 South Third street, Philadelphia, is our general traveling agent, assisted by Wm. H. Webb, John C. Jones, James D. Jones, H. Hammett, R. S. Jones, Thos. D. Nix, R. W. Morrison, E. W. Wiley, Wm. L. Waterman, Alex. H. Cannon, D. K. McArthur, Ben. F. Swann, T. A. Arden, and P. Davis.

Mr. C. W. Jones, No. 1 Harrison street, Cincinnati, Ohio, is our general collecting agent for the Western States and Texas, assisted by H. J. Thomas, William H. Thomas, Thos. M. James, Dr. A. L. Childs, George Morris, and Richard Laake. Receipts of either will be good.

## OFFICIAL.

## APPOINTMENT BY THE PRESIDENT.

William B. Gere marshal for the Territory of Minnesota, vice Irwin, resigned.

## CONFLICT OF LAWS.

Every good citizen who desires to preserve the harmony and secure the perpetuity of our institutions must regret any appearance of conflict in the laws by which we are governed. Our institutions are simple and admirable in theory, though apparently complex, in consequence of the peculiar distribution of powers and duties. The constitution devolves upon the federal government a limited number of enumerated duties, forbidding the exercise of any others, and reserves to the States and people all other powers, except a few specific restraints upon the former. State constitutions and laws delegate to municipal and corporate bodies various powers, under which numerous laws are made. Congress, thirty-one States and seven Territories, besides other bodies acting under them, are enacting laws; hundreds of courts are expounding, and as many ministerial officers are executing them. The only escape from actual conflicts of legislation and construction, as well as execution, rests in each keeping within the limits of constitutional and legal authority. With all care and caution there will be an occasional appearance of conflict, but none in reality need occur. When each authority confines its action within proper limits all this apparently complicated legal machinery will move with as much regularity and certainty as our planetary system, in which each of the heavenly bodies moves noiselessly in its proper orbit.

The United States courts exercise a limited jurisdiction, mostly confined to questions arising under the national constitution, treaties, laws, and authority of the United States, while the State tribunals construe their own constitutions and statutes for themselves. The United States courts, under the judiciary act of 1789, follow the State tribunals in such cases, wherever their construction is settled, except in the single case where they impair the obligation of contract, when they judge for themselves, because questions arising under the constitution are involved. The object has been not to unsettle questions of title to property, as determined by the judiciary of a State, and therefore they have followed the construction of the State tribunals, even when they change their course of adjudication. The Supreme Court of the United States has held laws of Congress and those of States impairing the obligation of contract to be void, and State tribunals have often declared those of their State invalid for the same causes. In cases where the common law alone controls, there is more danger of differences among tribunals. Each State, except Louisiana, has adopted the common instead of the civil law, where it has not modified it by statute. The common, or unwritten law, is a body of principles founded in natural justice, approved by the wisdom of ages, and, to a great extent, sanctioned by express adjudications of high tribunals. The common law adapts itself to the relations of practical life and the wants and necessities which attach to man and surround human institutions.

Every tribunal, State and national, searches for these principles, and applies them for itself. Hence the differences in the decisions in the various courts, even in the same State. All do not judge alike, either as to the principle involved or its application to the case in hand. This is not a conflict of law, but a difference of opinion as to what the law is. Until man becomes perfect in judgment, and possesses unlimited knowledge, these differences must sometimes occur. The Supreme Court arrogates to itself no superiority over State tribunals, but, like them, searches the fountains of right and reason, and the condition of man and his relations to society and the world as they exist, to enable them to administer justice in the sense of their oaths. In common-law cases this court is neither bound nor authorized, against their own sense of right, to follow the decisions of State courts, nor are the latter bound to follow those of the Supreme Court. Each judges and acts for itself, giving that consideration to the other which the reasons adduced to sustain it may warrant. Upon every case the common law, rightly understood, has but one rule, and when there is a want of harmony in decisions upon it the difficulty is not with the law, but it is in the errors of those who declare and apply it. There can be but one rule of right, but men may mistake both the rule and its application. This occasions all the apparent conflicts of decision in cases which are determined upon the principles of the common law or equity. In cases where there is a real difference there is no common superior to determine which is right. But wisdom and prudence will prevent any serious consequences resulting from this cause.

Every judicial tribunal should seek, as far as its constitutional duty will permit, to avoid even the appearance of conflict, and seek by all proper means to promote harmony and kind feeling in the whole judiciary. All efforts to occasion a conflict, or even differences, should be avoided by all good citizens, and frowned down, by whomsoever and wheresoever made.

## UNITED STATES MAIL STEAMSHIPS TO EUROPE.

We are requested to state that the following are the only United States mail contractors authorized to convey the United States mail between New York and Europe, viz:

E. K. Collins & Co., between New York and Liverpool, running the steamships "Atlantic" and "Baltic," and such other steamships as may be accepted for that line.

The New York and Havre Steamship Company, (Mr. Livingston president,) between New York and Havre, via Southampton, running the steamships "Fulton" and "Arago."

Cornelius Vanderbilt, between New York and Bremen, via Southampton, running the steamships "Ariel" and "North Star."

## KNOW-NOTHINGISM IN NEW ORLEANS.

The once powerful know-nothing party, which at one time threatened to become a national organization, with numbers sufficient to check, if not defeat, the triumphant and progressive masses of the democracy, has dwindled away until it has finally become a petty, turbulent faction, confined to three cities of the Union, where their combinations against the peace and good order of their respective communities are matters of painful notoriety. The remains of know-nothingism are to be found in the cities of Baltimore, Louisville, and New Orleans—not less exactly—for they occasionally exhibit a spasmodic vitality, such as our citizens recently witnessed, and under circumstances which have excited the indignation of the whole country.

In New Orleans, where the democrats are largely in the majority, the know-nothings still maintain their supremacy by the old appliances of threats, intimidations, murderous violence, and the unblinking collusion of a partisan police. Hundreds—and we may truthfully add, thousands—of democratic voters are literally disfranchised by the frauds and armed opposition of their know-nothing oppressors. So hopeless is the case regarded by our political friends in that city that at the last municipal election, held on the first of this month, they made no nominations, preferring a nominal defeat rather than engage in a contest which would have terminated, as they thought, as several previous contests had terminated—in the triumph of fraud and force, and the sacrifice of many valuable lives. The reasons for the non-action of a majority party are thus clearly and emphatically stated in the Louisiana Courier of the 2d instant:

"That nothing like a fair election has been possible in New Orleans for years past is a fact that we have dwelt upon so much that there is scarcely a necessity of re-stating it, with its proofs, in detail. We refer our readers to contemporaneous accounts of the brutality, violence, and unscrupulousness of our opponents in the conduct of elections which have taken place during the past two years—to the choice of commissioners of election from members of their own party exclusively—to the extraordinary means taken by those commissioners to conceal themselves from public view while taking votes—to the illegal obstacles thrown in the way of naturalized voters—to the exclusion of the vote of hundreds of such under false pretences by men who chose to obey the dictates of the 'pale pettifoggers' of the know-nothing party rather than the plain requirements of the law—to systematic assaults made upon naturalized democrats before each election, with the knowledge or connivance of a partisan police, whose places and pay depended upon the success of the party which appointed them—to attempts to stifle the liberty of the press, and to mob a democratic printing office—to the ransacking of private dwellings and public institutions, under the pretence of searching for arms—to parading through the city on mornings of elections by bands of disguised thugs—to assaults made upon voters at the polls without the slightest protection from the police—to the assumption by a vain, arrogant, and ignorant municipal officer, through an insulting proclamation, of the sole right of conducting an election which our sheriff was ordered to hold, and which he endeavored to make arrangements to hold properly and fairly—to the gross and utter failure of that municipal officer to fulfil his lawful promises, and the countless acts of violence committed in consequence of that failure. When our distant readers read these things they will not wonder that we made no nominations for the election of yesterday."

We cannot believe that this frightful condition of affairs can much longer continue in an American city. New Orleans, like our own too-long-afflicted city, will yet throw off the incubus of know-nothingism.

## COTTON PANIC—SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

At a meeting of the Society of Arts held in London on Wednesday, May 13, Mr. J. B. Smith, M. P., read a paper on the subject, How can increased supplies of cotton be obtained? The lecturer gave a very interesting and an elaborately-prepared exposé of the cotton interests of Great Britain, exhibiting in a clear and comprehensive view, a mass of statistics in relation to the increased consumption and future supply of the raw material, which, if worked up into tabular statements, would make a good-sized statistical volume. He tells us, for example, in a few brief sentences, that the cotton manufactures, besides clothing the "whole population" of Great Britain, exported in 1856 yards and textiles to the value of \$191,423,500, and that this sum was equal in value to fully one-third of the entire exports of the United Kingdom. How much it would have strengthened his theory had he added that our exports of raw cotton during the same year were more than equal in value to one-third of the entire exports of the United States, both of domestic and foreign merchandise! Such is the fact—the excess in favor of raw cotton being nearly twenty millions of dollars.

Believing that any serious interruption to a manufacture in which millions of consumers are interested would be little less than a world's calamity, the lecturer regarded it as unfortunate that the raw material, instead of being derived from a variety of sources, should be chiefly supplied from one source; and that source, too, one which its very nature, as well as recent events, showed was precarious. Out of 900,000,000 pounds imported into Great Britain last year, no less than 700,000,000 pounds were from the United States, and the product of slave labor. From these premises, the lecturer proceeded on an exploration through Western Africa, British Guiana, Demerara, and the East Indies, and concluded by submitting that slave labor at 48 cents a day cannot compete with free labor at India at 72 cents per day. "Who can tell," says the enthusiastic orator, "but that justice to down-trodden India may be the instrument in the hands of Providence of hastening the emancipation of the down-trodden race of Africa?"

Lord Stanley, who took part in the discussion of the evening, stated that a rise of one penny in the pound in the price of cotton involved a national loss of \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000; that their dependence on the United States for the supply had increased from 45 per cent. of their consumption of cotton in 1801 to 80 per cent. at the present time; and it was the opinion of Mr. Crawford, a speaker who took a practical, business-like view of the question, and who, it would seem, had not thoroughly released his part in the performances of the evening, that the capacity of America to produce cotton had been underrated. This latter gentleman demonstrated the difficulties in the way of getting rid of slave labor in the United States, and adduced figures to prove that if America were forced to get rid of slavery in the manner adopted by the English, she would have to pay as much as \$1,000,000,000, or as much as one-fourth of the national debt of Great Britain.

From these and similar discussions that have of late occupied the attention of the leading scientific, agricultural, and philanthropic associations of Great Britain, and from the prominence given to the subject, during the past twelve months, by the principal political newspapers of London, Liverpool, Manches-

ter, and other large cities in the United Kingdom, there can be no doubt that either a crisis in the cotton industry of Great Britain is really apprehended, or, for some ulterior and not clearly-defined purpose, a concerted, systematic, and wide-spread movement is on foot to produce an alarm in relation to the future supply of the raw material. The history, written and unwritten, of the few years preceding the emancipation of negro slaves in the British West Indies, if carefully studied, might throw some light on the mysterious features of these cotton-panic movements, and reveal something beyond the legitimate exigencies of manufacturing industry in the supply associations and kindred organizations throughout Great Britain at the present day. Most of them have sprung into existence, like Minerva from the brain of Jove, fully armed and well proportioned, since the defeat of the sectional candidate for the presidency in last November. We thus have a starting point from which to proceed in our inquiries. But, then, we are assured by Mr. Watkins, a member of Parliament for Yarmouth, who followed Mr. Smith at the meeting of the 13th May, that "he did not wish to hurt the sensibility of our American brethren by commenting on their 'domestic institution,'" which we think was quite generous in the honorable speaker, considering that Great Britain, besides clothing her "whole population," realized in 1856—one single year—the snug sum of \$191,423,500, or one-third in value of its entire exports, from the capital and labor of this "domestic institution."

The memorable philanthropy, too, which inflicted an irreparable injury on both the white and black races in the West Indies, which transformed the beautiful and fertile island of Jamaica—once rich, prosperous, contented, and flourishing; abundant alike in its means for consumption at home and in its varied resources for commerce abroad—into a sickly, desolate, famine-stricken, impoverished colonial dependency; the skillful, canting diplomacy which transferred from the West to the East Indies the cultivation of indigo, now reared into an exclusive British monopoly, and seeks to sanctify, under the name of "coolie trade" and "African apprenticeship," a more iniquitous and irresponsible system of human bondage that has ever been known to exist in ancient or modern times;—from lessons such as these, which are scattered over the still living history of British philanthropy, we may be enabled to decry some of the remote objects which recent cotton movements in London and Manchester have in contemplation. The truth is, there is no more real cause for a panic now than there was twenty years ago. In 1840 we supplied Great Britain with four-fifths of all she consumed, and we do the same in 1857. If the importation from India has advanced from 97,000,000 pounds to 180,000,000 pounds, from the United States, it has also risen from 358,000,000 pounds to 780,000,000 pounds. What show the statistics?

Statement exhibiting the quantities of Cotton imported into Great Britain from the United States and from all countries from 1841 to 1856, both inclusive.

Years.	From United States.	From all countries.
1841	358,240,964	487,392,355
1842	414,030,779	573,459,086
1843	574,738,520	673,193,116
1844	517,218,622	646,111,304
1845	625,650,412	721,979,953
1846	401,949,393	467,856,274
1847	364,599,291	474,707,615
1848	600,247,488	713,020,161
1849	634,604,010	753,469,012
1850	493,153,112	663,576,861
1851	596,638,962	737,379,749
1852	765,630,544	929,782,448
1853	658,451,796	895,278,749
1854	722,151,346	887,333,149
1855	681,629,424	891,752,002
1856	780,000,000	1,023,856,528

The above table, though in itself conclusive, is not the only data from which some ulterior purpose on the part of the British panic-makers is made patent to every one. We have other proof at hand. The motive power of British cotton factories has increased, within a few years, as follows:

Horse power	—27,218, or 20 per cent.
Spindles	—7,864,844, or 30 per cent.
Looms	—67,760, or 22 per cent.

During the same period the cotton crop of the United States has increased at the rate of 41 per cent. The pretext is, therefore, too shallow to deceive any one at all conversant with the subject. But may there not be other points upon which the lecturers of the Supply Association of Manchester have not as yet touched? One of the speakers at the meeting of May 13 remarked that the cotton question "involved the prosperity or the reverse of all the capitalists and operatives employed in the cotton manufactures;" and Mr. Smith declared that any "serious interruption to a manufacture in which millions of consumers (operatives?) are interested would be little less than a world's calamity." May not the increased consumption of the raw material in countries of Europe whose looms have hitherto been fed by the factories of Great Britain—in Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, and the other States of Germany, in patriotic and industrious Switzerland, in Austria, the States of Italy, Russia, and even in Turkey—exert some influence in spreading alarm among the cotton spinners of the British empire? Since the termination of the war Russia bids fair to dispense altogether with English cotton yarns, and her Kiatcha barter trade, by which but a few years since she procured her teas and silks in exchange, chiefly, for British cotton fabrics, is now supplied almost exclusively from her own looms, and the Chinese prefer the Russian manufacture. As mills multiply and cotton spinning increases in these countries and States, in an equal ratio, the exportation of yarns from England diminishes. We, too, are successfully disputing the exclusive monopoly of Great Britain in the cotton markets of Mexico, Peru, Chili, Brazil, Uruguay—of all South America; nay, we have literally "carried the war into Africa," for our manufactures compete with those of Great Britain in Morocco, Tripoli, Tunis, and far off in Zanzibar in the dominions of the Ismaum of Muscat. In the bazaars of the Turk and the tent of the Arab the genuine "Americano" is preferred to the imitation for which, in these distant markets, the British manufacturer has so long and so successfully pirated the name. May not the patriotic and commendable spirit of cotton-manufacturing industry which has of late taken hold of the southern mind, right in the midst of the cotton-growing region, and which even now in the State of Georgia yields its dividends of 20 per cent. on the capital invested, have some influence in directing these cotton movements in England? Or may not the much-dreaded "world's calamity," after all, prove to be nothing more than a just retribution visited upon pseudo-philanthropists and avaricious monopolists by the newly-awakened spirit of manufacturing industry in the southern States of the American Union?

## "THE WAR UPON SOCIETY."—DE BOW'S REVIEW.

We have read with much interest the June number of this able and widely-circulating Review. It is chiefly devoted to the defence of the social institutions of the South, and to the exhibition of her industrial resources, statistics, &c. But on these subjects it does not confine itself to the South; for it often contains valuable statistics and other information as to the North and West. It is also useful for its essays on education, political economy, and general literature.

What pleases us most in this Review is that the editor, it seems, proposes to devote it hereafter, in part, to the cause of conservatism—to the defence of all of the old and established institutions of the country against the assaults which the isms are making on them. The black republicans are engaged in a "war upon society" itself. Like Greeley, Garrison, Parker, Gerrit Smith, and Seward, they are socialists, equally intent and equally active in attempts to overthrow the institutions of the North as those of the South. It becomes conservatives now to omit as far as possible from the editorial vocabulary the terms abolition and slavery, and to unite the broader issues which these destructives tender. We are giving great advantage to them by holding them up as mere abolitionists. We should expose the whole of their disorganizing and wicked purposes, and thus show that they are equally dangerous to the North and the South. In this way only can conservatives of all sections be brought into cordial and active union. Society is everywhere but a series of subordinations, and these subordinations the isms propose to destroy, and to merge all government, all religion, and all authority into free love, Fourierism, passionist attraction, attractive labor, or an expected millennium. When such movements are headed by men of talents and influence, like Greeley, Seward, Parker, and Beecher, the "war upon society" becomes a serious affair, and excites the apprehension that, if successful, they would soon bring forth the goddess of reason and the guillotine to act their part in the drama.

Approving, as we do, of the general scope and purpose of De Bow's Review, we yet cannot but deprecate and disapprove the sectional asperity which displays itself in some of its communications. The conservatives of the North are the staunch friends and allies of the South, and it is impolitic and criminal in men of either section to indulge in indiscriminate censure of the other. The isms are the common enemy, and they should be singled out for contempt and reprobation.

## CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATIONS.

The democrats of the 5th district, Tennessee, have nominated Col. J. C. Guild for Congress. "The nomination," says the Nashville Union, "was unanimous and enthusiastic. Col. Guild is a veteran and well-tried champion, who understands every wife of federal know-nothingism, and he will fight a most gallant battle for good principles in his district."

## NEW TARIFF OF BRAZIL.

We have received, but have not yet had time to examine minutely, the new tariff of Brazil, which it is officially announced will go into force on the 1st proximo. A hurried glance over its voluminous pages shows a perceptible increase of duty on cotton manufactures, furniture, and on manufactured goods generally, while the slight reduction on flour is far from what might be expected from a country whose staple production we admit free into our ports.

We have already noted the fact (says the Baltimore Sun) that a convention composed of about a dozen Virginia and Tennessee railroad companies, whose great object is the opening of a direct commercial intercourse by a line of steamships between the city of Norfolk, Va., and the principal Atlantic ports of Europe, was held at Bristol last week, and that it selected Hon. Wm. Ballard Preston to proceed to Europe with a view of carrying out successfully the projected enterprise. Mr. Preston is instructed to negotiate with the company of the mammoth steamship Great Eastern, and to secure, if possible, her first trip across the Atlantic to the port of Norfolk.

## THE ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH.

The New York Journal of Commerce publishes the following extract of a letter received by a gentleman of that city, by the last Liverpool steamer, from Professor Morse:

"I am hospitably housed with our good friend Dr. Whitehouse, No. 8 Ashburnham Terrace, Greenwich. I am domiciled with him for the convenience of consultation together, and experimenting at the cable works. "All my investigations into the practicability of working the telegraph with commercial speed between America and Europe, and study, under Dr. Whitehouse, of the phenomena of the current in submarine conductors, gives me only a stronger assurance than ever of its ultimate success, and a success realizing your most sanguine anticipations."

## THE DEMOCRATIC VICTORY IN MINNESOTA.

The Albany Atlas and Argus says: Last week the black republicans shouted over their pretended victory in Minnesota!

We called on them to stop—to remember Iowa; and to give a chance for the democratic counties to be heard from.

The appeal to truth and reason was in vain. They shouted and hurrahed, with lungs as unweary as their credulity.

They cried "all hail" to Minnesota; and they thanked the "Germans" for helping them to carry the victory; much as Bonaparte would have done.

Thanks, brave army! Now begin to beat! To-day we begin to hear the truth. Out of 46 delegates the democrats carry 35, the black republicans 11! The Tribune attempts to cover the defeat by saying the republicans carry "the rural districts," and the democrats "the large towns." "Rural districts" and "large towns" in the Territory of Minnesota! What an abuse of words and of facts!

The Albany Argus has unearthed the following resolution, which, according to the Albany Evening Journal, was adopted by the State convention of its political friends in 1850 "by acclamation":

"Resolved, That we regard the constitution of the United States as the supreme law of the land, and as such to be implicitly obeyed by the citizens of every section, and by the authorities of every State; that we will faithfully observe all its provisions and compromises; that we will resist promptly, firmly, and by all necessary means, any attempt from any other quarter to overthrow it; that in all cases of doubt as to its meaning we will appeal to and abide by the decisions of the courts of the United States."

PREVENTION OF FITTING IN SMALL POX.—Mr. Starlin, the senior surgeon to the Guy's Hospital for Diseases of the Skin, has communicated to the Medical Times a very important plan, which he has adopted during the last fourteen years, for preventing pitting in small-pox, and which (he states) has always proved successful. The plan consists in applying the action of caustic, or any vesicating fluid, by means of a camel-hair brush, to the apex of each spot or pustule of the disease, on all the exposed surfaces of the body, until blistering is evidenced by the whitening of the skin in the parts subjected to the application, when the fluid producing it is to be washed off with water, or this arrowroot gruel. The pain attending the application of the vesicating fluid is very slight and transient.

## FRENCH TRANSATLANTIC STEAM PACKETS.

The following is the explanatory statement of the Conseil d'Etat submitted with the project of law laid before the Corps Legislatif for the establishment of a line of transatlantic steamers:

"This service is intended to embrace three grand lines of communication: the first with the United States; the second with the Antilles, the Gulf of Mexico, and the coast of the continent; the third with the Brazil and La Plata. We think it would be superfluous to explain here the considerable advantages, so long desired, that France anticipates from the establishment of this rapid and regular communication with the two Americas. Two nations, powerful by their industry and wealth, England and the United States, have preceded us in this path; the Emperor's government proposes to you to imitate them. The connecting ports would be: For the United States, Havre, with a mail station at Cherbourg. For the Brazil line, Bordeaux, or Rio de Janeiro. For the Antilles line, Nantes (St. Nazaire). A plan for the postal tariff has been prepared by the Finance Minister. It is annexed to the project of law as an essential document to enable you to appreciate the conditions and charges of an enterprise for which the State will have to grant a considerable annual subsidy. By the terms of the project of law this subsidy cannot exceed 14 millions of francs per annum. You will see from the postal tariff that the term of the treaty is to be for 20 consecutive years, which will commence from the third year after the concession. The company will be bound to keep about four years after the date of the concession, twenty-six steamers impelled by a motive power of 12,700 horses nominally, to wit: Five steamers of at least 750-horse power each; five steamers of 600-horse power each; seven steamers of 450-horse power each; five steamers of 400-horse power each; four steamers of 200-horse power each. In all twenty-six steamers, having an aggregate of 12,700-horse power. The average speed per hour must be 11 knots on the New York line; 10 knots on the principal line of the Antilles and the Aspinwall line; 9 knots on the chief line of the Brazil; 8 knots on the line from St. Thomas to Tampico; 8 knots on the branch line from Rio Janeiro to Buenos Ayres; 8 knots on the branch line from Rio de Janeiro to Cayenne. A guarantee deposit of two millions is required from the concessionary company, and it will be held responsible for the performance of the duties undertaken by the company for the establishment of a transatlantic communication by steam. The concession will be made to one company only. The number of voyages will be twenty-six a year on the line from Havre to New York, return voyages included; that is to say, a departure once a fortnight. The number of voyages will be twenty-four on the other two lines. From Havre to New York the route is direct. The Brazilian line is to touch at Lisbon, Goree, Bahia, or Pernambuco, and end at Rio Janeiro. A branch line will work up to Monte Video and Buenos Ayres. The Antilles line terminates at Aspinwall. It will call at St. Thomas, Guadalupe, and Martinique; branch steam-packets will run to Santa Martha, Porto Rico, Vera Cruz, Tampico, and Cayenne. The distance from Havre to New York is 1,955 nautical leagues, or 55,016 sea leagues, to be passed over every year. From Bordeaux to Rio Janeiro, 1,689 nautical leagues, the branch service, 380; total, 99,360 sea leagues per annum. For the Antilles line the distance is 62,228 nautical leagues, to which we must add 59,228 sea leagues for the branch lines. The entire annual distance for the three lines will be 255,952 nautical leagues. Therefore, the subsidy, in supposing it raised to its maximum of 14 millions, would give the sum of 547,696 sea leagues per annum. In England the Cunard company receives 427, for every league traversed in the United States; the Collins company receives for the same purpose the sum of 846. In conclusion, it is right to say that the establishment of the three transatlantic lines, the conditions of which are inserted in the postal tariff, (26 steamers with a nominal power of 12,700 horses, a weekly service, requiring considerable capital, not less than 50 millions, and in this sum the item of coal is estimated at 9 millions. Taking into account these figures, and the political and commercial interests connected with the creation of the transatlantic steam packets which have been so long expected, the government proposes to you to fix at 14 millions the maximum of the subsidy that may be bestowed on this great enterprise."

For the Union.

## A TRUE HISTORY OF THE PROJECT OF THE EXPEDITION OF WILLIAM WALKER.

WASHINGTON, June 9, 1857.

Mr. Editor: I notice that a large portion of the press of the country has been lately occupied with retrospective, or, allow me to say *ex post facto* criticisms of the Walker expedition since the return of its gallant leader to this country under circumstances of misfortune. It seems that no term is now too harsh to apply to the enterprise since its failure; it is now characterized as the lawless and rapacious undertaking of an adventurer, whose audacity has been properly punished. I beg, however, to express a conviction that, notwithstanding these censures and misrepresentations, the public judgment has not yet passed upon the enterprise of William Walker, which properly awaits the verdict of time.

Having devoted much attention to the political history of Central America, I have made it a point to acquaint myself particularly and intimately with the historical circumstances under which Gen. Walker entered the country in 1855. There has as yet been no precise history of these circumstances nor of events in Central America contemporaneous with the conception of the Walker expedition. If it will not be imposing upon your space by too much of detail, I will undertake to write, within the briefest possible limits, such a history, which, although of events somewhat distant, may derive some interest from its opportuneness at this moment, and its relations to an exciting public opinion.

Since the tripartite union of the States of Nicaragua, San Salvador, and Honduras, under the title of "the national representation of Central America," in 1849, and the disorders consequent thereupon, a comparative political quiet had prevailed throughout the country until 1854, when a revolution in Nicaragua, involving to some extent the other States, took place—a movement terminated, it will be readily recollected, by the erection of the Bivas-Walker government. This revolution first broke out on the occasion of the presidential election in Nicaragua in the fall of 1853; but, although the riots at the polls was its starting point, it was in all respects a struggle between the two political faiths in Central America, that had been in conflict for thirty years.

The candidates for the office of President, which had been vacated by the death of Pineda, and for which an election was held in the fall of 1853, were Fruto Chamorro, of Granada, and Francisco Castellon, of Leon. The former was ultra-servile in his politics, and particularly inimical to the immigration of foreigners; while the latter was distinguished for the liberal political education which he had acquired by extensive travel in Europe, having been minister to England and to France, as well as for his position in the liberal party, being, with Cabanana, of Honduras, its chief leader and most enthusiastic representative. When the day of election came, Chamorro, who at the time was in command of the army, besieged the polls with his soldiers, and in the riots which ensued some of the Castellon men were killed, and it is said that others were bayoneted in cold blood for refusing to vote on the side of the army. By such violence, and by an alleged fraud in the returns, Chamorro claimed to have been elected. He commenced his administration by arrogating the constitutional privileges of the people, and banishing Castellon and about twenty of his partisans, including that other distinguished party leader, Gen. Jerez, on the pretence that they entertained treasonable designs.

Castellon and his friends were well received in Honduras by Cabanana, who had succeeded Lindo in the presidency, and to whose identification with the democracy of the country I have already alluded. After a brief recuperation, Castellon, in company with General Jerez, returned to Nicaragua and landed at Realajo on the 4th May, 1854, at the head of about two hundred men. They were received with the usual boundless demonstrations. Nearly the entire population of the country pronounced for Castellon; and he was made Director of the provisional republic, which was immediately established at Chinandega. Chamorro was at first defeated in a series of well-contrived battles, and driven into the city of Granada; but the siege of the city was soon raised, and the war continued with various success.

These revolutionary movements, particularly as illustrative of the old party distinctions of Central America, were not confined to Nicaragua. Guatemala was strongly interested in the success of the Chamorro party, to

consequence which Carrera, who had usurped the title of "Perpetual President" of that republic, taxed his means and his ingenuity. He found a fitting accomplice for his purposes in the infamous Guardiola, who has been mentioned so frequently in the accounts of Central American warfare under the sobriquet of the Butcher. He is a native of Honduras, to the presidency of which State he was elected not long ago; but he has passed most of his time in Guatemala, as one of Carrera's followers. His cruelty is said to be monstrous; and the history of his butcheries, with his ferocious aspect, inspires mingled terror and disgust. A characteristic story told of his cruelty is, that at one time he was compelled to make a long forced march, when one of his soldiers halted from exhaustion. Guardiola approached him and ordered him to march; and when the poor fellow urged his exhaustion, the Butcher called for a priest, and, as soon as confessed, had him shot on the spot; when he turned to his affrighted men with brutal levity to know "who else was tired?"

Collecting a small force in the city of Guatemala, Guardiola proceeded to Nicaragua to assume a part in the contest there. He was placed in command of the servile forces, and hailed as a star of hope to the legitimists.

But a timely and formidable interposition was to decide the contest. The invitation of Castellon for American co-operation had been accepted, and the expedition of William Walker was approaching the scene of strife. Castellon had early sought aid from our countrymen, and he had applied to a few citizens of California, who were then passing through Nicaragua to Honduras, to obtain assistance to support the government on promises of grants of land. It was on this basis, and with the sanction of the repeated invitation of Castellon, that Walker left California with fifty odd men, arriving at Realajo on the 11th June, 1855.

In a letter to Mr. Secretary Marcy, dated 11th September, 1855, Walker indicated the first motives of the expedition in the following language:

"Since the independence there have been two parties struggling for supremacy in Central America. Under the names of servile and liberal, aristocratic and democratic, they have carried on a series of civil wars for the last thirty years. So far as foreign policy is concerned, the servile or aristocratic party has uniformly favored British influences and British pretensions, while the liberal or democratic has as constantly struggled for American friendship and American sympathy. The present war in Nicaragua is a struggle between these same parties."

"I recognized the justice of the liberal cause. And, therefore, with a few others, I came to Nicaragua to attempt to give more force and vigor to the democratic government. It is the aim of myself and those under my command to establish the government on a basis at once firm and liberal—to secure the rights of the people, while we maintain law and order."

It may truly be said that the Walker expedition has not failed with regard to the changes it has inaugurated in Central American politics. The liberal party cannot hereafter be so uncertain in its ascendancy after the thorough reorganization it has undergone in the explosion of its old fallacies—such as that of *famly poen*—the infusion of a cultivated sentiment of progress, and the chastening of its democratic exuberances by American lessons in government. It has acquired moral strength with numerical majority. Servilism may be said still to survive in Central America under the general form of a sentiment of political bigotry, but its party creed has already become utterly extinct, and it is scarcely any longer dangerous after having lost the power of its cohesive organization.

The main fact seems to be sufficiently established that Walker's co-operation in the affairs of Nicaragua was invited in the first instance; nor does it seem that we have any right to go behind that invitation to charge that filibustering or rapacity was the original spirit of the expedition. Assuredly it was not to be supposed that the Americans would shed their blood in a foreign cause for naught; they expected to acquire certain interests in Nicaragua and a weight in the government; and they might have hoped that, in time, their civilization and industry would win a peaceful and natural triumph over native imbecility, and change the destiny of the country. Such expectations and hopes were perfectly legitimate; but the result is hastening. The fickleness, the jealousy, the treachery, and the revolutionary spirit of the Central American people that deny our countrymen the honors and rewards of a foreign service, and that would expel them from a country they have rescued from an internecine war, and baptized in their own blood, as saved for a higher destiny, can but tend to provoke and offer opportunities of just revenge to a spirit—call it filibustering if you will—not easily pacified, but active, invasive, persevering, and eventually to triumph, wherever it carries the American civilization and arms.